

Remember Kabul? Reputation, Strategic Contexts, and American Credibility after the Afghanistan Withdrawal

D.G. Kim, Joshua Byun & Jiyoung Ko

Supplementary Online Appendix

Contents

Appendix A: Sample Characteristics

Appendix B: Balance Across Treatments

Appendix C: Regression Tables

Appendix D: Subgroup Analyses for Korea and China Surveys

Appendix E: Treatment Vignettes

Appendix F: Survey Questionnaire

Appendix A: Sample Characteristics

Table A1. Descriptive statistics of demographic covariates in each survey

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max	<i>N</i>
US survey					
Female	.41	.49	0	1	1,157
Age (1-6)	2.92	1.08	1	6	1,157
Income (1-7)	3.60	1.46	1	7	1,157
College degree	.81	.39	0	1	1,157
White	.88	.11	0	1	1,157
Ideology (1-7)	3.90	2.00	1	7	1,157
Party ID (1-7)	3.36	2.01	1	7	1,157
Korea survey					
Female	.49	.50	0	1	1,000
Age	44.82	13.28	20	69	1,000
College degree	.80	.40	0	1	1,000
Ideology (1-7)	3.83	1.11	1	7	1,000
China survey					
Female	.48	.50	0	1	1,008
Age	40.35	11.85	19	70	1,008
Han ethnic	.93	.25	0	1	1,008
College degree	.73	.45	0	1	1,008

Appendix B: Balance Across Treatments

Table A2: Covariate balance in US survey

	Control	Treatment	<i>p</i> -value
Female	.40	.41	.79
Age	2.89	2.95	.37
Income	3.66	3.52	.10
College degree	.82	.81	.64
White	.89	.88	.71
Ideology	3.82	3.99	.14
Party ID	3.32	3.40	.51
Attention check	.92	.92	.99
<i>N</i>	579	578	-

Note: Each cell shows the mean value for the covariate under each condition as well as the *p*-value from a t-test.

Table A3: Covariate balance in Korea survey

	Control	Treatment 1	Treatment 2	<i>p</i> -value
Female	.47	.47	.53	.18
Age	45.30	44.72	44.43	.40
College degree	.81	.80	.79	.51
Ideology	3.95	3.74	3.80	.06
Attention check	.95	.92	.96	.62
<i>N</i>	333	333	334	-

Note: Each cell shows the mean value for the covariate under each condition as well as the *p*-value from a one-way ANOVA test.

Table A4: Covariate balance in China survey

	Control	Treatment 1	Treatment 2	<i>p</i> -value
Female	.51	.47	.47	.29
Han ethnic	.91	.95	.94	.19
Age	39.75	40.75	40.52	.41
College degree	.76	.71	.71	.18
Attention check	.96	.94	.93	.20
<i>N</i>	324	340	344	-

Note: Each cell shows the mean value for the covariate under each condition as well as the *p*-value from a one-way ANOVA test.

Appendix C: Regression Tables

Table A5: OLS regression results from US survey

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Credibility Korea (1)	Credibility China (2)	Credibility Allies (3)	Credibility Democracy (4)
Afghan condition	-2.68* (1.16)	-1.66 (1.22)	-3.48** (1.10)	-3.29** (1.15)
PID (1-7)	-0.33 (0.31)	-0.16 (0.33)	-0.28 (0.30)	-0.16 (0.31)
Ideology (1-7)	0.26 (0.31)	-0.07 (0.32)	0.05 (0.29)	0.34 (0.31)
Male	5.14*** (1.21)	5.10*** (1.27)	4.49*** (1.15)	4.30*** (1.20)
Black	-2.88 (2.30)	-0.61 (2.40)	-0.07 (2.18)	1.39 (2.27)
Hispanic	-5.35 (5.11)	-14.97** (5.34)	-18.68*** (4.84)	-13.99** (5.04)
Asian	-1.08 (3.21)	-3.65 (3.36)	1.00 (3.04)	-2.25 (3.17)
Age	-1.08 (0.55)	-1.58** (0.58)	-1.05* (0.52)	-0.62 (0.55)
Income	-0.09 (0.42)	-0.37 (0.44)	-0.43 (0.40)	-0.68 (0.42)
Education	1.39** (0.52)	1.68** (0.55)	1.31** (0.49)	1.79*** (0.52)
Constant	67.85*** (3.57)	66.93*** (3.73)	69.35*** (3.38)	64.41*** (3.52)
Observations	1,141	1,141	1,141	1,141
Adjusted R ²	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.03

Note:

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table A6: OLS regression results from US survey: subgroup analyses based on party ID

	<i>Democrat (Model 1-2)</i>		<i>Independent (Model 3-4)</i>		<i>Republican (Model 5-6)</i>	
	Credibility Korea	Credibility China	Credibility Korea	Credibility China	Credibility Korea	Credibility China
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Afghan condition	-1.71 (1.27)	-0.91 (1.39)	-6.43* (2.72)	-3.29 (2.77)	-1.13 (2.59)	-1.79 (2.55)
Ideology (1-7)	0.99** (0.31)	1.17*** (0.34)	-1.74+ (0.92)	-3.51*** (0.94)	-0.64 (0.71)	-1.51* (0.70)
Male	5.43*** (1.30)	6.70*** (1.42)	4.68 (2.89)	1.06 (2.94)	3.45 (2.79)	3.83 (2.74)
Black	-2.86 (2.49)	-4.07 (2.71)	-5.11 (5.25)	0.55 (5.34)	1.58 (5.52)	6.77 (5.43)
Hispanic	0.10 (6.24)	-8.32 (6.79)	-27.18* (11.42)	-45.76*** (11.61)	5.05 (9.90)	4.89 (9.74)
Asian	-5.10 (5.41)	-0.37 (5.89)	-3.73 (6.69)	-14.84* (6.80)	6.89 (5.45)	6.79 (5.36)
Age	-0.93 (0.61)	-1.67* (0.67)	0.42 (1.35)	0.78 (1.37)	-2.05+ (1.20)	-2.00+ (1.18)
Income	0.46 (0.46)	0.38 (0.50)	2.17* (0.95)	0.95 (0.96)	-3.87*** (0.99)	-3.18** (0.97)
Education	1.97** (0.64)	1.49* (0.70)	-2.16* (1.03)	-1.98+ (1.04)	3.62** (1.25)	5.16*** (1.23)
Constant	60.19*** (4.02)	61.04*** (4.38)	74.78*** (7.40)	81.89*** (7.53)	77.43*** (8.78)	69.67*** (8.64)
Observations	572	571	285	285	285	285
Adjusted R ²	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.11	0.08	0.12

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A7: OLS regression results from US survey: subgroup analyses based on education & isolationism

	<i>Low edu</i>		<i>High edu</i>		<i>Low iso</i>		<i>High iso</i>	
	Cred: Korea	Cred: China	Cred: Korea	Cred: China	Cred: Korea	Cred: China	Cred: Korea	Cred: China
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Afghan	-2.11 (2.96)	-0.38 (3.25)	-2.66* (1.26)	-1.65 (1.29)	-4.53** (1.71)	-2.28 (1.79)	-0.08 (1.51)	0.03 (1.56)
PID	1.61+ (0.91)	1.14 (1.00)	-0.66* (0.33)	-0.42 (0.34)	-0.75 (0.52)	-0.41 (0.54)	-0.11 (0.38)	-0.18 (0.39)
Ideology	-1.90* (0.90)	-3.75*** (0.99)	0.77* (0.33)	0.69* (0.34)	-0.76 (0.53)	-0.60 (0.56)	0.22 (0.37)	-0.48 (0.39)
Male	6.45+ (3.30)	7.02+ (3.63)	4.27*** (1.29)	3.94** (1.32)	6.82*** (1.77)	6.70*** (1.85)	2.92+ (1.59)	2.53 (1.65)
Black	2.95 (6.20)	1.89 (6.81)	-3.79 (2.46)	-1.39 (2.52)	-8.27* (3.22)	-2.45 (3.37)	4.15 (3.13)	3.03 (3.24)
Hisp	-10.49 (15.21)	-26.17 (16.71)	-4.35 (5.36)	-13.51* (5.48)	-5.19 (7.59)	-13.89+ (7.94)	-7.08 (6.52)	-16.61* (6.76)
Asian	15.04 (15.30)	-19.81 (16.81)	-2.00 (3.24)	-3.22 (3.31)	2.02 (4.56)	-4.77 (4.77)	-4.18 (4.31)	-1.41 (4.47)
Age	-3.26* (1.36)	-2.75+ (1.49)	-0.44 (0.61)	-1.04+ (0.62)	-0.90 (0.79)	-2.05* (0.83)	-1.01 (0.73)	-0.87 (0.76)
Income	0.38 (1.06)	-0.14 (1.17)	-0.04 (0.45)	-0.37 (0.46)	-0.15 (0.59)	-0.83 (0.61)	0.47 (0.58)	0.57 (0.60)
Education					1.72* (0.78)	1.69* (0.81)	0.71 (0.67)	1.45* (0.69)
Constant	75.53*** (6.71)	80.50*** (7.37)	72.50*** (3.12)	72.42*** (3.19)	66.72*** (5.08)	66.85*** (5.31)	72.19*** (4.79)	69.69*** (4.97)
Observations	214	214	928	927	546	546	595	595
Adjusted R ²	0.08	0.12	0.02	0.02	0.06	0.05	0.01	0.02

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A8: OLS regression results from Korea survey

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>						
	US credibility (1)	US credibility In 10 years (2)	US credibility In 30 years (3)	US credibility In 50 years (4)	Allies (5)	Democracy (6)	Go Nuclear (7)
Afghan Condition	0.33 (1.70)	0.29 (1.71)	1.13 (1.72)	2.27 (1.90)	1.34 (1.29)	0.49 (1.40)	-1.77 (1.95)
Prioritization Condition	4.13* (1.70)	2.82 (1.71)	4.45** (1.72)	5.55** (1.90)	3.98** (1.29)	2.25 (1.40)	-1.47 (1.94)
Ideology (1-7)	1.26* (0.63)	1.67** (0.63)	2.70*** (0.64)	3.34*** (0.70)	2.65*** (0.48)	3.09*** (0.52)	-3.21*** (0.72)
Male	8.39*** (1.39)	6.59*** (1.40)	4.44** (1.41)	2.90 (1.55)	4.43*** (1.05)	3.74** (1.14)	-8.20*** (1.59)
Age	0.05 (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.10 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.31*** (0.06)
Education	1.24 (0.74)	0.97 (0.75)	0.86 (0.75)	-0.16 (0.83)	-0.83 (0.56)	-0.75 (0.61)	0.62 (0.85)
Constant	45.57*** (4.40)	46.30*** (4.44)	37.76*** (4.46)	35.19*** (4.92)	52.07*** (3.35)	47.62*** (3.63)	65.54*** (5.05)
Observations	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Adjusted R ²	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.04	0.07

Note:

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table A9: OLS regression results from China survey

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	US credibility (1)	US credibility In 10 years (2)	US credibility In 30 years (3)	US credibility In 50 years (4)	Allies (5)	Democracy (6)
Afghan condition	3.16 (2.27)	4.86* (2.24)	1.97 (2.07)	0.87 (2.18)	-4.22 (2.21)	-3.03 (1.87)
Prioritization condition	7.05** (2.26)	8.11*** (2.24)	7.54*** (2.06)	7.65*** (2.17)	-3.84 (2.21)	-1.39 (1.86)
Male	-1.88 (1.85)	-2.92 (1.82)	-2.43 (1.68)	-2.70 (1.77)	-2.44 (1.80)	-3.03* (1.52)
Han ethnic	-6.20 (3.73)	-4.55 (3.68)	-4.63 (3.39)	-5.08 (3.58)	-1.25 (3.63)	-4.85 (3.07)
Age	0.16 (0.08)	0.13 (0.08)	0.16* (0.07)	0.10 (0.08)	0.15 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.07)
Education	0.87 (0.65)	0.89 (0.65)	0.49 (0.60)	-0.05 (0.63)	0.68 (0.64)	-1.18* (0.54)
Constant	41.13*** (6.26)	38.32*** (6.18)	32.60*** (5.69)	30.79*** (6.01)	38.45*** (6.10)	38.78*** (5.15)
Observations	1,008	1,008	1,008	1,008	1,008	1,008
Adjusted R ²	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01

Note:

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table A10: OLS regression results from US survey (excluding respondents who failed the manipulation check)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Credibility Korea	Credibility China	Credibility Allies	Credibility Democracy
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Afghan condition	-7.98*** (1.40)	-7.51*** (1.47)	-9.48*** (1.30)	-9.33*** (1.36)
PID (1-7)	-0.77* (0.37)	-0.50 (0.39)	-0.74* (0.34)	-0.57 (0.36)
Ideology (1-7)	0.39 (0.37)	-0.09 (0.38)	0.13 (0.34)	0.43 (0.36)
Male	5.55*** (1.40)	5.01*** (1.47)	4.79*** (1.30)	3.76** (1.36)
Black	-5.52* (2.71)	-1.55 (2.84)	-0.62 (2.51)	0.65 (2.63)
Hispanic	-4.91 (5.94)	-16.73** (6.22)	-17.06** (5.50)	-15.95** (5.77)
Asian	1.23 (3.63)	-1.03 (3.80)	3.22 (3.36)	-0.08 (3.52)
Age	-1.37* (0.64)	-2.29*** (0.67)	-1.29* (0.60)	-1.03 (0.63)
Income	-0.22 (0.48)	-0.41 (0.50)	-0.45 (0.45)	-0.90 (0.47)
Education	1.38* (0.62)	1.69** (0.65)	1.42* (0.57)	1.90** (0.60)
Constant	70.05*** (4.17)	70.31*** (4.37)	70.52*** (3.87)	67.23*** (4.05)
Observations	907	907	907	907
Adjusted R ²	0.07	0.07	0.10	0.08

Note:

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table A11: OLS regression results from Korea survey (excluding respondents who failed the manipulation check)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>						
	US credibility	US credibility In 10 years	US credibility In 30 years	US credibility In 50 years	Allies	Democracy	Go Nuclear
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Afghan condition	1.00 (1.75)	0.86 (1.77)	1.55 (1.78)	2.37 (1.97)	1.08 (1.32)	0.31 (1.44)	-1.09 (2.02)
Prioritization condition	4.25* (1.72)	3.11 (1.74)	4.88** (1.75)	5.96** (1.93)	4.40*** (1.30)	2.69 (1.41)	-1.20 (1.98)
Ideology (1-7)	1.44* (0.64)	1.93** (0.65)	2.96*** (0.65)	3.54*** (0.72)	2.83*** (0.48)	3.24*** (0.52)	-3.35*** (0.73)
Male	8.45*** (1.42)	6.63*** (1.43)	4.46** (1.44)	2.90 (1.59)	4.37*** (1.07)	3.84*** (1.16)	-8.28*** (1.63)
Age	0.06 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.002 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	-0.29*** (0.06)
Education	1.02 (0.76)	0.81 (0.77)	0.70 (0.77)	-0.24 (0.85)	-0.93 (0.57)	-0.82 (0.62)	0.54 (0.87)
Constant	44.83*** (4.51)	44.91*** (4.56)	36.15*** (4.59)	33.70*** (5.07)	50.92*** (3.41)	46.71*** (3.70)	65.40*** (5.20)
Observations	963	963	963	963	963	963	963
Adjusted R ²	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.06	0.05	0.06

Note:

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table A12: OLS regression results from China survey (excluding respondents who failed the manipulation check)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	US credibility	US credibility In 10 years	US credibility In 30 years	US credibility In 50 years	Allies	Democracy
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Afghan condition	2.92 (2.28)	4.72* (2.25)	1.81 (2.07)	0.64 (2.19)	-4.21 (2.22)	-3.11 (1.87)
Prioritization condition	7.06** (2.26)	8.12*** (2.24)	7.54*** (2.06)	7.66*** (2.17)	-3.86 (2.20)	-1.39 (1.86)
Male	-1.92 (1.85)	-2.90 (1.83)	-2.34 (1.68)	-2.57 (1.78)	-2.46 (1.80)	-3.06* (1.52)
Han ethnic	-6.26 (3.73)	-4.59 (3.69)	-4.66 (3.39)	-5.13 (3.57)	-1.24 (3.63)	-4.85 (3.06)
Age	0.16 (0.08)	0.13 (0.08)	0.16* (0.07)	0.11 (0.08)	0.16* (0.08)	-0.04 (0.07)
Education	0.91 (0.66)	0.91 (0.65)	0.52 (0.60)	0.01 (0.63)	0.61 (0.64)	-1.15* (0.54)
Constant	41.12*** (6.27)	38.25*** (6.20)	32.37*** (5.70)	30.31*** (6.01)	38.30*** (6.10)	38.26*** (5.15)
Observations	1,004	1,004	1,004	1,004	1,004	1,004
Adjusted R ²	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01

Note:

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table A13: OLS regression results from Korea survey: subgroup analyses based on education & militant assertiveness

	<i>US Credibility</i>			
	<i>Low edu</i>	<i>High edu</i>	<i>Dove</i>	<i>Hawk</i>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Afghan	-0.34 (4.09)	0.65 (1.86)	0.45 (2.14)	0.21 (2.83)
Prioritization	3.68 (4.05)	4.25* (1.87)	3.35 (2.06)	5.54+ (2.99)
Ideology	-1.55 (1.45)	2.00** (0.70)	1.70* (0.80)	0.39 (1.04)
Male	10.73** (3.41)	7.95*** (1.52)	7.72*** (1.72)	9.80*** (2.48)
Age	0.02 (0.11)	0.07 (0.06)	0.09 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.09)
Education			0.25 (0.90)	3.62** (1.32)
Constant	59.89*** (8.40)	46.78*** (4.04)	45.76*** (5.66)	44.16*** (7.21)
Observations	200	800	651	349
Adjusted R ²	0.03	0.05	0.03	0.06
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01			

Table A14: OLS regression results from China survey: subgroup analyses based on education & militant assertiveness

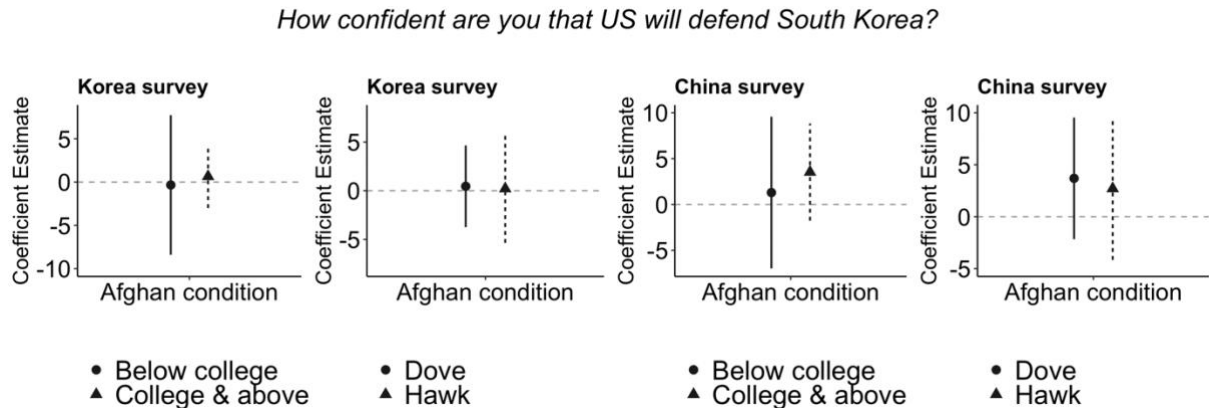
	<i>US Credibility</i>			
	<i>Low edu</i>	<i>High edu</i>	<i>Dove</i>	<i>Hawk</i>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Afghan	1.30 (4.20)	3.53 (2.70)	3.69 (2.98)	2.71 (3.49)
Prioritization	6.14 (4.20)	7.20** (2.69)	5.08 (2.92)	10.24** (3.56)
Male	-6.06 (3.41)	-0.44 (2.20)	-4.31 (2.40)	1.44 (2.89)
Han ethnic	-20.34** (7.16)	-1.83 (4.36)	-2.94 (4.96)	-11.86* (5.64)
Age	0.14 (0.14)	0.15 (0.10)	0.27** (0.10)	0.01 (0.13)
Education			0.25 (0.86)	1.89 (1.00)
Constant	60.40*** (10.17)	40.47*** (6.00)	36.07*** (8.38)	47.68*** (9.35)
Observations	277	731	590	418
Adjusted R ²	0.04	0.01	0.01	0.02

Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Appendix D: Subgroup Analyses for Korea and China Surveys

Figure A1:

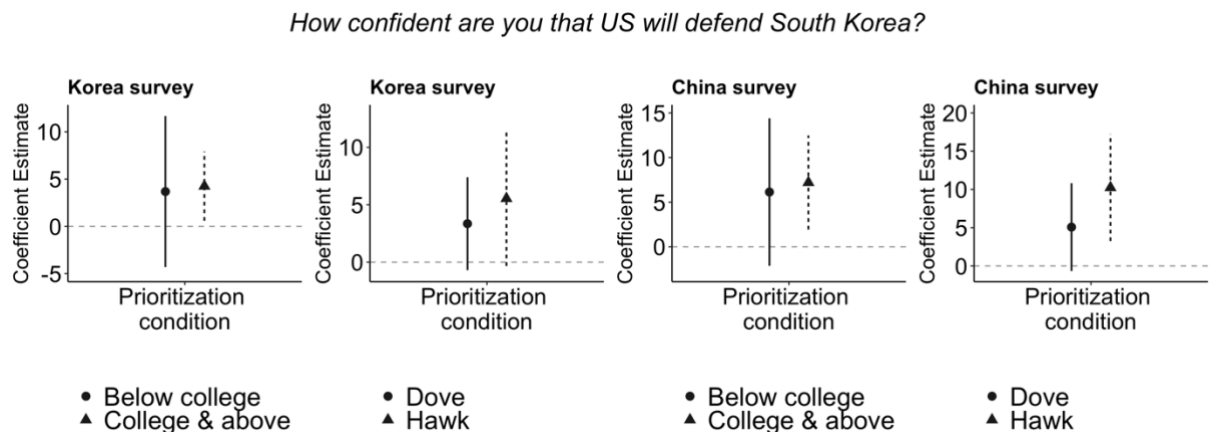
Effects of Afghanistan Withdrawal Treatment on U.S. Credibility: Subgroup Analyses



Note: The figure summarizes ordinary squares regression coefficient plots with 95% confidence intervals based on results in Tables A13-14 in the online appendix. The outcome measures range from 0 (“Not confident at all”) to 100 (“Absolutely confident”). All models control for standard demographics and other relevant covariates.

Figure A2:

Effects of Resource Prioritization Treatment on U.S. Credibility: Subgroup Analyses



Note: The figure summarizes ordinary squares regression coefficient plots with 95% confidence intervals based on results in Tables A13-14 in the online appendix. The outcome measures range from 0 (“Not confident at all”) to 100 (“Absolutely confident”). All models control for standard demographics and other relevant covariates.

Appendix E: Treatment Vignettes

Afghanistan condition

- In 2021, the United States pulled out its military forces from Afghanistan, ending decades of American security assistance to the country.
- The Taliban took control of Afghanistan amidst the ensuing chaos.
 - 미국은 2021년 아프가니스탄 주둔 미군을 철수시킴으로써 지난 수십 년간 지속된 아프간에 대한 안보 지원을 종결시켰다.
 - 이어진 혼란을 틈타 탈레반 세력이 아프가니스탄을 점령하였다.
 - 2021年, 美国从阿富汗撤军, 结束了其数十年来对阿富汗的安全援助。
 - 随后, 塔利班政府在混乱中重新掌权。

Afghanistan condition: manipulation check

What is the main message of the information above?

- US continues its security commitment to Afghanistan.
- US withdrawal from Afghanistan ended decades of American security commitment to the country.

위 정보의 핵심 내용은 다음 중 무엇입니까?

- 미국은 아프가니스탄에 대한 안보 지원을 지속하고 있다.
- 미국은 아프간 철수를 통해 수십 년간 이어진 안보 지원을 종결시켰다.

上述文段的主要信息是？

- 美国会延续其对阿富汗的安全承诺。
- 美国从阿富汗撤军, 这结束了美国数十年来对阿富汗的安全承诺。

Prioritization condition

- In 2021, the United States pulled out its military forces from Afghanistan, ending decades of American security assistance to the country.
- The Taliban took control of Afghanistan amidst the ensuing chaos.
- The U.S. will now be able to concentrate more military capabilities in East Asia to contain China's rise.
 - 미국은 2021년 아프가니스탄 주둔 미군을 철수시킴으로써 지난 수십년간 지속된 아프간에 대한 안보 지원을 종결시켰다.
 - 이어진 혼란을 틈타 탈레반 세력이 아프가니스탄을 점령하였다.
 - 이로 인해 미국은 중국의 부상을 견제하기 위해 더 많은 군사력을 동아시아에 집중할 수 있게 되었다.
 - 2021年, 美国从阿富汗撤军, 结束了其数十年来对阿富汗的安全援助。
 - 随后, 塔利班政府在混乱中重新掌权。
 - 如今, 为了遏制中国崛起, 美国将在东亚投入更多军事力量。

Prioritization condition: manipulation check

What is the main message of the information above?

- US continues its security commitment to Afghanistan.
- US withdrawal from Afghanistan ended decades of American security commitment to the country and now allows US to concentrate its forces in East Asia.

위 정보의 핵심 내용은 다음 중 무엇입니까?

- 미국은 아프가니스탄에 대한 안보 지원을 지속하고 있다.
- 미국은 아프간 철수를 통해 수십년간 이어진 안보 지원을 종결 시켰고, 동아시아에 군사력을 집중할 수 있게 되었다.

上述文段的主要信息是？

- 美国会延续其对阿富汗的安全承诺。
- 美国从阿富汗撤军, 这结束了美国数十年来对阿富汗的安全承诺。如今, 美国将在东亚投入更多军事力量。

Appendix F: Survey Questionnaire

US survey

Thinking about politics these days, how would you describe your political viewpoint?

- Very liberal
 - Liberal
 - Slightly liberal
 - Moderate
 - Slightly conservative
 - Conservative
 - Very conservative
-

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a...

- Strong Democrat
 - Democrat
 - Independent, but lean Democrat
 - Independent
 - Independent, but lean Republican
 - Republican
 - Strongly Republican
-

What is your gender?

- Female
 - Male
 - Other
-

What is your race?

- White
 - Black or African American
 - Spanish/Hispanic/Latino
 - Asian
 - Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
 - American Indian and Alaska Native
 - Other: please specify
-

What is your age?

- 18 to 24 years
 - 25 to 35 years
 - 35 to 44 years
 - 45 to 54 years
 - 55 to 64 years
-

What is the highest degree or level of education you have completed?

- Less than high school
 - High school graduate
 - Some college, no degree
 - 2-year degree
 - 4-year degree
 - Postgraduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc)
-

What was your total household income before taxes during the past 12 months?

- Less than \$24,999
 - \$25,000 to \$34,999
 - \$35,000 to \$49,999
 - \$50,000 to \$74,999
 - \$75,000 to \$99,999
 - \$100,000 to \$149,999
 - \$150,000 or more
-

Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with below statements*:

1 (“Strongly agree”) – 7 (“Strongly disagree”)

“The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own.”

“We should not think so much in international terms but concentrate more on our own national problems and building up our strength and prosperity here at home.”

*The isolationism scale items were used to construct an additive aggregate score as well as a binary, median-split high vs. low isolationism variable.

We asked the following question to people in South Korea, an American ally in East Asia:

“How confident are you that the U.S. will defend South Korea if a military conflict arises with China?”

Please tell us your best guess on the level of confidence the South Koreans have about U.S. military support for their country (0=not confident at all; 100=absolutely confident).

We repeated the same question, now supposing a military conflict between South Korea and China arises in 10, 30, and 50 years.

Please tell us your best guess on the level of confidence the South Koreans have about U.S. military support for their country in the future (0=not confident at all; 100=absolutely confident).

We asked the following question to people in China, an American adversary in East Asia:

"How confident are you that the U.S. will defend South Korea if a military conflict arises between China and South Korea?"

Please tell us your best guess on the level of confidence the Chinese have about U.S. military support for its ally, South Korea (0=not confident at all; 100=absolutely confident).

We repeated the same question, now supposing a military conflict between China and South Korea arises in 10, 30, and 50 years.

Please tell us your best guess on the level of confidence the Chinese have about U.S. military support for its ally, South Korea (0=not confident at all; 100=absolutely confident).

Please tell us your best guess on the level of confidence people around the world have about the credibility of U.S. military support for its allies.

Please tell us your best guess on the level of confidence people around the world have about the credibility of U.S. support for democracy and human rights.

Korea survey

How old are you?

- Answered with a dropdown menu (Less than 18 – More than 95)

귀하의 나이는 어떻게 되십니까?

What is your gender?

- Female
- Male

귀하의 성별은 무엇입니까?

- 여성
 - 남성
-

How would you describe your political ideology?

- Very liberal
- Liberal
- Slightly liberal
- Moderate
- Slightly conservative
- Conservative
- Very conservative

귀하의 정치적 이념은 아래 중 어느 쪽에 가깝습니까?

- 매우 진보
 - 진보
 - 다소 진보
 - 중도
 - 다소 보수
 - 보수
 - 매우 보수
-

What is the highest degree or level of education you have completed?

- Less than high school
- High school graduate
- 2-year college degree
- 4-year college degree
- Postgraduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc)

귀하의 최종 학력은 어떻게 되십니까?

- 초등학교 또는 중학교 졸업
- 고등학교 졸업
- 2년제 대학 졸업
- 4년제 대학 졸업
- 대학원 졸업

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?*(
 (1="Strongly agree" – 5="Strongly disagree")

“Going to war is unfortunate, but sometimes the only solution to international problems.”
 전쟁은 안타깝지만 때로는 국가 간 문제를 해결하는 유일한 방법이다.

“The use of military force only makes problems worse.”
 무력 사용은 국가 간 문제를 악화시키기만 한다.

“The only way to ensure world peace is through Korea’s military strength.”
 세계 평화를 보장하는 최선의 방법은 우리나라의 군사력을 기르는 것이다.

*The three military assertiveness scale items were used to construct an additive aggregate score as well as a binary, median-split hawk vs. dove variable.

How confident are you that the U.S. will defend South Korea if a military conflict arises between South Korea and China? Choose between “0=not confident at all” and “100=absolutely confident.”

만약 한국과 중국 간 군사 충돌이 발생한다면 미국이 한국을 방어해 줄 것이라고 얼마나 확신하십니까? “0=전혀 확신하지 않음”에서 “100=매우 확신함” 중 하나를 골라주세요.

Now suppose a military conflict between South Korea and China arises in 10, 30, and 50 years. How confident are you that the U.S. will defend South Korea if a military conflict arises between

South Korea and China? Choose between “0=not confident at all” and “100=absolutely confident.”

이제 한국과 중국 간 10 년, 30 년, 혹은 50 년 후에 군사 충돌이 일어나는 상황을 가정해 보십시오. 만약 한국과 중국 간 군사 충돌이 발생한다면 미국이 한국을 방어해 줄 것이라고 얼마나 확신하십니까? “0=전혀 확신하지 않음”에서 “100=매우 확신함” 중 하나를 골라주세요.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
“The U.S. is committed to defending its military allies around the world.”
(1=“Strongly agree” – 5=“Strongly disagree”)

아래 주장에 동의하십니까 동의하지 않으십니까?
“미국은 전 세계 군사 동맹국들을 방어하기 위해 최선을 다하고 있다.”
(1=“매우 동의함” – 5=“매우 동의하지 않음”)

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
“The U.S. is committed to defending democracy and human rights around the world.”
(1=“Strongly agree” – 5=“Strongly disagree”)

아래 주장에 동의하십니까 동의하지 않으십니까?
“미국은 전 세계 민주주의와 인권을 수호하기 위해 최선을 다하고 있다.”
(1=“매우 동의함” – 5=“매우 동의하지 않음”)

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
“South Korea should pursue its own nuclear powers to improve its security.”
(1=“Strongly agree” – 5=“Strongly disagree”)

아래 주장에 동의하십니까 동의하지 않으십니까?
“한국의 안보 증진을 위해 자체 핵무장을 추진해야한다.”
(1=“매우 동의함” – 5=“매우 동의하지 않음”)

China survey

How old are you?

- Answered with a dropdown menu (Less than 18 – More than 95)

你的年龄是？

What is your gender?

- Female
- Male

请问你的性别是？

- 女
 - 男
-

Which ethnic group do you belong to?

- Han ethnic group
- Minority group

你的民族是？

- 汉族
 - 少数民族
-

What is the highest degree or level of education you have completed?

- Less than high school
- High school graduate
- Some college, no degree
- 2-year degree
- 4-year degree
- Postgraduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc)

请问你的最高学历或受教育水平是？

- 低于高中
- 高中、职高毕业
- 高校肄业
- 专科学历
- 本科学历

- 硕士及以上

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?*(1="Strongly agree" – 5="Strongly disagree")

“Going to war is unfortunate, but sometimes the only solution to international problems.”
卷入战争是不幸的，但有时这是解决国际问题的唯一方法。

“The use of military force only makes problems worse.”
使用武力只能让问题变得更糟糕。

“The only way to ensure world peace is through China’s military strength.”
确保世界和平的最好方法是通过使用中国的军事力量。

*These three military assertiveness scale items were used to construct an additive aggregate score as well as a binary, median-split hawk vs. dove variable.

How confident are you that the U.S. will defend South Korea if a military conflict arises between China and South Korea? Choose between “0=not confident at all” and “100=absolutely confident.”

如果中国与韩国发生军事冲突，你认为美国有多大可能会保卫韩国？请在「0=完全没有可能」和「100=非常有可能」之间选择。

Now suppose a military conflict between China and South Korea arises in 10, 30, and 50 years. How confident are you that the U.S. will defend South Korea if a military conflict arises between China and South Korea? Choose between “0=not confident at all” and “100=absolutely confident.”

假设中国和韩国之间的军事冲突分别在 10、30 和 50 年后出现。
如果中国与韩国发生军事冲突，你认为美国有多大可能会保卫韩国？请在「0=完全没有可能」和「100=非常有可能」之间选择。

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
“The U.S. is committed to defending its military allies around the world.”
(1="Strongly agree" – 5="Strongly disagree")

请问你是否同意以下陈述：
美国致力于捍卫其在世界各地的军事盟友。
(1=“非常同意” – 5=“非常不同意”)

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
“The U.S. is committed to defending democracy and human rights around the world.”
(1=“Strongly agree” – 5=“Strongly disagree”)

根据在阿富汗发生的事件，请问你是否同意以下陈述：
美国致力于捍卫世界各地的民主和人权。
(1=“非常同意” – 5=“非常不同意”)